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### ALLEGED ATHEISM

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## CONSTITUTION.

[From THE NORTHERN MONTHLY for November, 1867.]

NEWARK: 1867.





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By Ille a dea Whitelen



#### ALLEGED ATHEISM OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"It is bad policy to admit any thing," said a learned judge to a young lawyer who was his companion on his circuit. "If your opponent asserts what is prejudicial to your case, always make him prove it." This was one of his professional maxims, and to it he attributed in a great degree his success at the bar. He soon had another instance to educe of its value, but adverse to his interests. His companion, proving to be an apt scholar, could not be brought to admit that he had agreed to pay for both their dinners. There were no witnesses to the agreement; it therefore could not be proved, and the judge was obliged to pay for his own meal.

Admissions generally work discomfiture to the party making them, and it may therefore be considered contrary to the dictates of sound wisdom and worldly policy to admit that the absence from the Constitution of the United States of a distinct recognition of an Omnipotent Being is a radical defect. It implies, as has been boldly said, "practical atheism" and an "ignoring of Christianity," and consequently furnishes the infidel and the contemner of moral and religious laws with a potent argument to sustain them in their assumed position, however false, that they are guaranteed by that instrument entire immunity from all obligations of a religious character; and many there are who, although not liable to be thus classified, are willing to secure political power or other selfish aims by conceding to such men all their demands; finding an apology, poor though it be, in the admissions made by clergy and laymen of the highest standing, intellectually and socially, which are taken as affording conclusive evidence of the truth of what they boldly proclaim, that this is not fundamentally a Christian country—making the popular will instead of the Christian faith the standard of morals The good democratic doctrine of Jefferson, that and religion. "Error of Opinion may be tolerated where Reason is left free to combat it," did not contemplate disarming Reason by depriving her of advantages of position and argument through suicidal admissions.

Within a few months, meeting have been held, both in Philadelphia and New-York, of what is believed to be a permanent organization, whose object it is to keep the public mind alive to this defect in the Constitution, and to bring about its removal. Whether such a course is judicious, even were any intervention for the purpose called for, may be doubted; and, under the most favorable auspices, success could scarcely be anticipated. It was assumed at these meetings that "our need of securing God's favor and of averting his dis-

pleasure REQUIRES that we distinctly and especially acknowledge him and the authority of his word in the great charter of our national existence and power," and that the want of such definite acknowledgment alone rendered us deserving of, or at least liable to, condemnation. Strong language was used both in the resolutions adopted and the speeches made, but moderate in comparison with that heretofore employed; for this movement is not a new thing.

For many years the subject had been publicly noticed from time to time by prominent divines; but, on the breaking out of the rebellion, a more combined and general effort was set on foot, resulting in the organization which has been referred to; and—whether by concerted action or not is undetermined—a particular day was fixed upon to bring the topics involved simultaneously before the country.

On the 4th of January, 1861, a large proportion of the people of the United States, on the recommendation of their Chief Magistrate, engaged in acts of worship, and, nominally at least, fasted and prayed in acknowledgment and deprecation of our national sins. It was a grand and imposing spectacle—a nation at the footstool of Jehovah—an act itself, it would seem, refuting the statements connected with its performance; for were we not worshiping as a Christian people? When did we become such? It might have been assumed from the teachings, or rather utterances, of numerous pulpits on that day in several of the Northern States, that our Christianity was coeval with the Constitution, and to be measured by its terms; and that, although from the adoption of that instrument down, we had been signally blessed as a people, and the benign influences of the Christian religion had been ever spreading, giving strength to the weak, hope to the distressed, consolation to the afflicted, innumerable blessings to all, yet, because of the fact that It the Constitution was not a proclamation of any religious faith, that its framers did not regard themselves as charged with the spiritual interests of their constituents, so far as to interfere with their religious belief, considering themselves authorized neither to enact canons nor promulgate dogmatical decrees, at that period, after those long years of prosperity and happiness, this "defect," this "omission," this "ignoring" of his supremacy in that instrument, was found to be one of the prominent causes why "the wrath of God" was "kindled against this people"!! Strange deduction; and yet leading journals were found to say, "We cannot refuse ourselves the gratification of alluding to the position—so worthy of a Christian minister-taken by Dr. -, in reference to the practical atheism of our organic law." Alarming announcement! for, if true, what could we expect would be our fate in the struggle before us with a foe whose claims to the divine favor were so superior to ours?

Seven of the States of the Union—not one of them, by the way, containing as many white inhabitants as New-Jersey, and one of them (Florida) not as many by eighteen thousand as the county of Essex at that time—despising the glorious heritage of freedom and prosperity which they had so long enjoyed, had, not long before, formed themselves into a separate confederacy. It was true they had prefaced the act by measures of sequestration, appropriation, and violence as individual sovereignties, which met with few apologists outside of their respective limits; deeds, in ordinary parlance, of extortion, robbery, and murder, such as make men who commit them culprits in the sight of Heaven, and worthy of condemnation by all laws human and divine. But these were all atoned for; for to the Constitution which they adopted for their government was a preamble, in which appeared the following words:

"We, the people of the Confederated States, etc., invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain," etc.

A most reverential document truly! And thereafter most systematically did they strive in all their public documents to avoid the error which their "atheistic" fathers had fallen into, by "ignoring" the Almighty in the Constitution which they so wisely threw from them.

Did this recognition of God render less objectionable their unwarrantable procedure? Did this expression of their dependence upon him sanctify their aims? Did it make them any more a Christian people than they were before? Did that feature insure to their extemporized confederation perpetuity and a glorious future? How does history answer these questions?

It is a presumptuous undertaking at any time to interpret the judgments of the Almighty by the light that this world's logic may throw upon them; and certainly, if any dispensations of wrath are or are not to be attributed to the action of the fathers of our country when laying its foundations, the momentous question should not be solved by looking only at the surface, by criticising the language of a single document, and ignoring the spirit which pervaded the people and their representatives when those foundations were laid. Let us rather believe that, as Christian men, inhabiting Christian commonwealths whose laws and institutions recognized the Christian faith and the necessity of compliance with its requisitions, they met only with the view of effecting a more perfect union among their constituencies for secular purposes. The members of the Constitutional Convention entertained no such infidel sentiments as are implied by the objections now brought forward against the instrument they framed, nor had the slightest intention of "ignoring God as the Ruler of the nation." The idea is preposterous. The thought, even, is libelous,

and can only be excused on the ground that adequate information on the subject has not been secured by those who entertain it. The fact is, if there is a government existing whose foundations were more immutably fixed on the recognition of a God and the supremacy of the Christian religion than any other, it is that of the United States of America. It was so regarded by the framers of the Constitution; and had it been announced to them that the perpetuity of the nation or its welfare depended upon their acknowledging in set terms, in that document, their belief in the existence of the one and their faith in the other, and that without such acknowledgment infidelity would gather strength, and the wrath of the Omnipotent descend upon the land, they would have resented it as an insult sought to be cast upon the virtue and intelligence of

their posterity.

No! The framers of the Constitution regarded some things as settled, and among these was the Christianity of the land. And in this connection reference may properly be made to a letter written in 1833 by Chief-Justice Marshall to the Rev. J. Adams, at Charleston, S. C., in which is the following pregnant passage: "The American population is entirely Christian; and with us Christianity and religion are identified \* It would be strange, indeed, if, with such a people, our institutions did not presuppose Christianity." This letter was published in the Charleston Courier of April 21st, 1837, from which it is quoted; and the passage will be recognized as harmonizing perfectly with the assertion of Judge Story that, when the Constitution was formed, "an attempt to level all religions and to make it a matter of state policy to hold all in utter indifference would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation." What ground, therefore, can there be for accusing the framers of the Constitution of having put forth an instrument "ignoring God as the ruler of the nation"?—a body presided over by George Washington, and having among its members such men as King, and Hamilton, and Wilson, and Sherman, and many others requiring no indorsement from the present generation to nullify an imputation of favoring either theoretical or practical atheism?

Some, indeed, might have silenced, very summarily and effectually, such an imputation by referring to their recorded action as members of the old Congress, which proclaimed their Christian sentiments. For instance, see the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms," adopted July 6th, 1775. In that document the expressions of thankfulness for the "many singular instances of the divine favor," and of trust in his protection, are full and impressive; among others appears the following paragraph: "With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler

of the Universe, we most devoutly implore His divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation," etc. Now, of the committee that drafted this declaration, John Rutledge, of South-Carolina, was chairman, and William Livingston, of New-Jersey, and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, were among those associated with him, and all three were members of the Constitutional Convention.

Is it to be presumed that they were less willing afterward than they were then to acknowledge the overruling providence of God? Franklin's agency in the introduction of prayers in the Convention is well known; and Livingston had previously offered a resolution for the appointment of a fast-day, abounding in solemn asseverations of reliance on the divine arm; asserting it to be the duty of the colonies, "with true penitence of heart and the most reverent devotion, publicly to acknowledge God's government, and by a confession of their sins, sincere repentance, and amendment of life, to appease his right-eous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ obtain his pardon and forgiveness." Not much theoretical or practical atheism in that.

So, in 1781, Madison was one of a committee who reported a proclamation for a fast, in which confession, repentance, and amendment were urged to appease the Almighty's righteous displeasure, "through the merits of our blessed Saviour." Yet Madison was a member of the Constitutional Convention; and so was Williamson, of North-Carolina, who in 1782 was one of a committee who called upon "all ranks to testify their gratitude to God for his goodness by a cheerful obedience to his laws," and who asserted that "the practice of true and undefiled religion is the great foundation of public prosperity and national happiness." George Read, also, of Delaware, might have referred to the noble, highly Christian proclamation, reported by him for adoption by the Committee of the States, August 3d, 1784, recommending a day of thanksgiving on the ratification of the Definitive Treaty of Peace.

But these men were not singular in their views; they were representative men merely. The same sentiments filled the hearts and were uttered by the lips of hundreds who were the acknowledged exponents of the principles of the people. In confirmation of this, let us give a brief glance at a few of the many documentary proofs they have left behind them, issued at different times during the long period intervening between the battle of Lexington and the adoption of the Constitution, while the nation was undergoing its formative processes.

Taking up the journals of the old Congress, we meet at the outset that "pertinent, affectionate, sublime, devout prayer, which

filled the bosom of every man present," alluded to by John Adams; who, by the way, in a letter to his wife, supplies an omission in the minutes, by furnishing the names of Messrs. Cushing and Samuel Adams as originators of the proceedings which thus throw a halo of sanctity around the opening session of the Congress in old Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. This was in September, 1774, and on opening the session at the State-House in the May following, the solemn act was repeated. In October, 1774, was issued the address to the people of Quebec, which closed with the fervent prayer "that Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures," and all are familiar with the thrilling appeal "to the supreme Judge of the world," and the expression of the "firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence," which give such solemnity to the declaration that these States "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent."

Reference has been made already to the impressive language used in the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for taking up Arms;" and in several of the proclamations for fast-days, the frequent recommendation of such days being evidence enough in itself of the religious sentiment prevailing. Yearly, from 1775 to 1782 inclusive, were these recommendations issued, and they all breathed the most thorough recognition of a divine Providence and reliance upon an Almighty arm. One specimen, in addition to the extracts already given, will suffice to establish this. The proclamation issued in June, 1775, emanating from a committee composed of Messrs. Hooper, John Adams, and Paine, speaks of "the great Governor of the world," who, "by his supreme and universal providence not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of his providential government," as the being whose "superintending providence" they should "devoutly acknowledge at all times;" and it earnestly recommended "all Christians, of all denominations, to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labor and recreation," on the appointed day. That the people represented by these men, or the men themselves, should be visited with the condemnation of the present generation because of a fancied "ignoring of God in the Constitution" is surprising. Look, too, in the proceedings of September 11th, 1777, when, on the report of a committee that proper types for printing "the Bible"—and it was not thought necessary to be more explicit then, all knew what Bible was meant -could not be had in the country, it was directed that twenty thousand copies be imported from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere. And when, on the 26th of June, 1778, the form of ratifying the Articles of Confederation was adopted, the men now accused of "practical

atheism" did not hesitate to say that it had "pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve the instrument;" and in 1782, by solemn resolution, they recommended "to the inhabitants of the United States" Mr. Aitkin's edition of "the Bible;" and we have seen that not only when in distress did they turn to him who was able to save them, but, when safety was vouchsafed, they called upon "all ranks" to bow before him in humble gratitude.

It will be perceived that no attempt has been made to strengthen the presentation of the subject by any arguments based upon the circumstances of settlement or colonization, however pertinent and cogent. The relations existing between man and his Maker were, as we all know, fully recognized and acted on by the colonies; their laws, their customs, their observances, their systems of jurisprudence, all conformed, in a greater or less degree, to the doctrines of the Christian faith; but it would unduly lengthen this article to enter into details respecting them, and the writer, therefore, has preferred confining himself to a review of the period immediately preceding the adoption of the Constitution, or in which that event occurred, and of the men cotemporaneous therewith; "our fathers," as they were called by one of the prominent divines of a neighboring city on the fast-day alluded to. After finding in the simple omission of a direct acknowledgment of God in the Constitution a defect of such awful potency as to warrant the question, "Why should we expect God's blessing on our Union as one nation?" he ventured the following startling assertion: "I am aware of only one provision which distinguishes our civil polity from a heathen organization —that provision is the oath of office. . . . Our fathers, in their opposition to a union of church and state, with just apprehensions of the domineering exactions of bigotry and the predominance of sectarian intelligence, swung back on the extreme opposite of ignoring God as the ruler of the nation." If such views are entertained and promulgated from our pulpits, can it be a matter of surprise that our ill-informed foreign residents should assume that they are warranted in ignoring our Sunday laws? that the legal restraints placed upon the exercise of their animal propensities, their sensual appetites, their infidel proclivities, which are derived from the Christian code of morals, may be disregarded with impunity? Fearful already have been the consequences (and what further may be in store for us no one can say) arising from these unfounded admissions and false criticisms; and great responsibility rests upon those who make them. But let us return to what was the action of "our fathers" in the different States after their separation from Great Britain.

In the Constitution of New-Hampshire, the duty of worshiping

God was fully recognized and enforced. "Morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give," said that instrument, "the best and greatest security to government"—"every denomination of *Christians*" demeaning themselves quietly and as good citizens being alike protected—every individual having "a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

The Constitution of Massachusetts provided that measures should be adopted by all the towns for the "institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality," as thereupon essentially depended "the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government," as being "the right as well as the duty of all men in society, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe."

Rhode Island and Connecticut, under their respective charters, are well known to have adopted codes of laws and institutions eminently Christian in character; but neither of them, at the time under review, had yet formed a constitution.

New-Jersey secured every civil right to all persons "professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably," and guaranteed every person against being "deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshiping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience."

Pennsylvania insisted, as a prerequisite to holding office, upon the acknowledgment of the "being of a God, and a future state of rewards and punishments," and asserted that "all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience."

Delaware said in her constitution that it was "through divine goodness all men have, by nature, the right of worshiping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their consciences," and declared that the prosperity of communities depended upon piety and morality, making it a duty of "all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of the Author of the universe."

Maryland required of her office-holders a declaration of belief in the *Christian* religion, and that oaths should be administered in "the most effectual confirmation, by the attestation of a Divine Being," and said, "That, as it is the *duty* of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to him, all persons professing the *Christian* religion are equally entitled to protection," etc.

Virginia bore record that religion, or "the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed

only by reason and conviction," etc., and "that it is the mutual duty of all to practice *Christian* forbearance, love, and charity toward each other."

North-Carolina excluded from office all who denied "the being of a God," the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of either the Old or the New Testaments; or who should hold religious principles inconsistent with the freedom and safety of the State, all men having "a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences."

Georgia recognized the responsibility of a man to his Creator, and considered it an "inestimable privilege to worship God in a manner agreeable to one's own conscience."

South-Carolina and New-York were more general in their guarantees of the "free exercise and enjoyment" of religious worship; but the terms used expressly recognize the obligations of religion, and guarded against any "acts of licentiousness" growing out of the liberty so granted; and New-York, in excluding clergymen from office, placed it on the ground that "by their profession they were dedicated to the service of God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the grand duties of their functions."

At the time the Constitution of the United States was framed, such were the avowed sentiments of the people of the several States whom "our fathers" represented, as reflected in their respective fundamental laws. These views will be found incorporated in the laws everywhere enacted and everywhere enforced, as well as in the correspondence of the prominent men of the times, who are to be regarded as exponents of the principles of different classes and parties; showing that, with such a uniformity of views prevailing, it might well have been considered a work of supererogation for the members of the Constitutional Convention to have inserted in the instrument they framed any proclamation of the Christian character of the people for whom they were acting.

It is hoped that the injustice of the charges brought against "our fathers" has been made fully manifest in what has been written. As is justly remarked by Lieber, "The great mission which this country has to perform with reference to Europe, requires the utter divorce of State and Church, NOT RELIGION;" and that was precisely the distinction drawn by the patriots of the Revolution. It is evident from the construction of the Constitution that it did not enter into the minds of its authors that they might subject the country in after times to the wrath of an offended Deity for putting forth a document of atheistic tendencies; for the subject of religion was not introduced into the body of the instrument at all; and it is apparent from the debate on the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any laws re-

lating to the establishment of religion, which is found among the amendments, that it was inserted rather to guard against presumed danger from an already too manifest disposition to infuse the religious element more largely into the Government than from any existing want of it. The use that is made of this mis-called guarantee of liberty of conscience in the Constitution—"mis-called," because it simply leaves the subject of religion to the discretion of the State legislatures—has given some interest to the inquiry, With whom did it originate? The clause was undoubtedly inserted in accordance with the wishes of Virginia, North-Carolina, and New-York, all three recommending an amendment of the sort. Virginia suggested, with some slight modification, what she had herself adopted for her own constitution, as follows: "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men have an equal, natural, and unalienable right to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others."

This declaratory amendment, or matter for one, was recommended by Virginia on the 26th of June, 1788, and shortly afterward North-Carolina adopted it verbatim, and introduced it among the amendments she proposed; and New-York evidently had it in view when, on the 26th of July, she proposed "that the people have an equal, natural, and inalienable right, freely and peaceably, to exercise their religion according to the dictates of conscience;" "and that no religious sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others." These relative dates seem therefore to give to Virginia the parentage of the clause referred to; and as George Mason drafted both the constitution of that State and the proposed amendments or Bill of Rights, which emanated from its convention, he may be regarded as the originator of the guarantee that Congress should not interfere with the religions of the States; such being in truth the purport of the clause.

The Constitution was adopted by the Convention in September, 1787, and it was not until June of the following year that it was ratified by a sufficient number of States to become the established fundamental law of the nation. All know how critically it was examined and discussed in all its points during those long nine months; how every possible objection was started by its opponents, and how effectually one after another was refuted; but is there the least intimation, in any of the many documents, speeches, and letters of the time, that a single individual considered that by it "God was ignored as the ruler of the nation"?

It is true that in three of the State ratifying conventions regrets were expressed that there was not some religious test required of office-holders, besides the oath of office; but there seems to have been a general sentiment in harmony with the views of Oliver Wolcott, as expressed in the convention of Connecticut, one of the three alluded to, that the oath "was a direct appeal to that God who is the avenger of perjury," "and a full acknowledgment of his being and providence." The other two conventions were those of Massachusetts and North-Carolina. In the first were several divines who, with a full understanding of the subject before them, used very different language from that of modern times, as has been quoted. "Such," said one of them, "were the abilities and integrity of the gentlemen who constructed the Constitution, as not to admit of the presumption that they would have betrayed so much vanity as to attempt to erect bulwarks and barriers to the throne of God." Another conceived that "no man or men can impose any religious test, without invading the essential prerogatives of Jesus Christ;" and yet another said, "The Apostle Peter tells us that God is no respecter of persons, that in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him . . . the exclusion of a religious test in the proposed constitution therefore clearly appears to be in favor of its adoption." "The clergy of Connecticut," wrote Madison, "are exerting themselves in its favor;" and referring to the States east of New-York, Gouverneur Morris wrote, "Their preachers are advocates for the adoption." In favor of a document "ignoring God"! advocating the adoption of an instrument "practically atheistic"! What infatuation! In North-Carolina, Mr. Iredell remarked: "It is never to be supposed that the people of America will trust their dearest rights to persons who have no religion at all, or a religion materially differing from their own. The divine Author of our religion never wished for its support by worldly authorities." In these discussions, and on all other occasions when the subject was referred to, it is evident that the fact —the fixed, indubitable fact was ever present—its importance undenied and undeniable—its continuance positive and unquestioned —that the religion of Jesus Christ was the formally recognized and established religion of the land—"their own religion"—depending upon the phraseology of no document, nor the opinions of any body of men for its introduction or preservation. Within the pale of the Christian faith there might be the greatest diversity of opinions; but the Christian's God was the only God to be worshiped. "As far as they are Christians," said John Adams of the various denominations, "I wish to be a fellow-disciple with them all." The writer hopes that his own position in reference to the question involved has not been left in doubt. He is well aware that the importance of the subject demands a better refutation of the groundless charge thus sweepingly made against the patriots who gave us the Constitution than this simple exposition of facts has afforded. Although firmly convinced that Christianity "is, and of right ought to be, the Law of the Land," he might not have attempted the discussion had he not, as a Jerseyman, felt aggrieved at having such names as Witherspoon, Frelinghuysen, Livingston, Paterson, Dayton, Howell, Hunter, and others, that shine in the annals of the State, and that were connected either with the formation or ratification of that instrument, rest under the imputation of having sanctioned any measure "ignoring God as the ruler of the nation," or of a practically atheistic character.

That the ground upon which such contemners of the Constitution stand is untenable is plainly manifested by the inconsistencies into which they are drawn when called upon to uphold the authority of the government. One of the clergy, who, on the fast-day referred to, most emphatically pronounced the defectiveness of the Constitution to be sufficient cause for the withholding of the Almighty's favor, has since, in a published discourse, given utterance to the following sentiments: "The people of these United States, under the Federal Constitution, are one nation, organic, corporate, divinely established, subject to government, and bound in conscience to obedience. Disloyalty to the Constitution is, therefore, impiety toward God. . . . To destroy this Union, therefore, is to commit a sin which God will righteously punish by evils which no prescience can foresee and no wisdom can repair. . . . Secession is disunion, and disunion is treason; for the Constitution abides as our 'principality and power,' 'ordained of God,' securing life, liberty, and happiness to the nation." So, verily, believes the writer; but he will not attempt to show how such views accord with those previously promulgated by the same reverend gentleman or others who have succeeded him.

Let the Constitution be ever upheld as a Christian document, framed by Christian men, representing Christian communities, for the government of a Christian nation. Let our ports be opened wide to the oppressed of all nations. Let the invitation go forth to the ends of the earth: "Come and enjoy with us the blessings of liberty and civilization. Behold what religion and republican institutions have done for us. Our fathers founded the government upon the immutable principles of Christianity. It is the law of the land. Ask us not to abolish the precious privileges which have made our country what it is, rendering it so attractive to us and to you. The liberty we would cherish is that with which 'Christ makes free.' The civilization we would enjoy with you is that which

derives its excellences from an ever-pervading regard for law and order." Let such be our standpoint, such the welcome to our shores; and let *not* disparagement of the Constitution, through misconception of its provisions, timid concessions to infidel exactions, or for time-serving purposes, impair its moral force and strengthen the cause of the enemies of religion.







